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***A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON
THE NATIONS OF SOUTH ASIA
(Received in February 1984)***

March 1984

Author: Elizabeth R. Curtiss

PREFACE

This bibliography continues the monthly series compiling analytic material on the nations of South Asia. The countries included are: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. There is a general South Asia section for works having multilateral implications. This selective reference work is intended to support research on the foreign relations, governments, politics, and economies of the nations of South Asia. Material included is both retrospective and current, and represents works received, cataloged, or indexed, in February 1984.

Citations are arranged geographically and listed alphabetically by author within each country section. Works bearing on, or analyzing more than one nation are entered under each country concerned. Where citations lack an accompanying abstract, the work was not on hand at the time of this issue; such an abstract will be included when the work is received.

Word processing was accomplished by Angela M. Bloom.

A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF THE NATIONS OF SOUTH ASIA
(Received in February 1984)

AFGHANISTAN

Ziring, Lawrence. "Afghanistan: The Contemporary Pivot of Great-Power Relations." in Thomas, Raju G.C., ed. The Great-Power Triangle and Asian Security. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1983. p. 21.

The author, a noted conservative analyst, predicts the Soviet Union will annex the northern part of today's Afghanistan as a new Soviet republic. What remains separate will be merged with provinces to be severed from Pakistan; this enlarged entity will carry on Afghanistan's name, next to greatly reduced Pakistan. Ziring's precedents are varied: alterations in Poland's and Germany's borders after World War II, and less convincingly, the fact that "Pakistan. . . was dismembered in 1971 with the Soviet-encouraged Indian invasion of East Pakistan." Ziring expects that once the Soviets are satisfied with their foothold in the region, they will sow as much discord as possible in Iran and Iraq. Ironically, Ziring falls into the trap against which he warns western policy-makers: he underestimates the fighting ability of the mujahiddin.

BANGLADESH

Samad, Saleem, Irtiza, N. and Shahrian, S.M. "Settlers' Struggle." Bangladesh Today, 16 October 1983, p. 6.

Bangladesh's headline-making floods destroy both people and property with tragic regularity, yet population pressure motivates many Bangladeshis to settle on the shifting islands where various rivers empty into the Bay of Bengal. These squatters face two obstacles. If the island stabilizes, landlords bribe the government into documenting private ownership so rent can be collected. During the islands' formative stages, inadequate forestation allows erosion to wash away edges and topsoil. Squatter groups want the government to void all existing land contracts on stabilized islands, and oppose forestation programs which would save the islands but preclude agricultural use in the near-term. This cover article includes a map of areas under discussion and chronicles mapping efforts by the United States space program in a truly humanitarian application of modern technology.

Syed, A.M. "A Delphic Fortnight Passes By." Bangladesh Today, 1 September 1983, p. 4.

Late August 1983 saw an upsurge in political activity in Bangladesh. A commission of inquiry was appointed to look into police-student clashes the previous February. President H. M. Ershad used unusually severe floods as the occasion for goodwill trips into the countryside, promising aid and money to almost every group he met. Meanwhile, factions within the opposition

parties, anticipating elections in the foreseeable future, vied with each other for prominence. The article is specific and well-informed.

INDIA

Brass, Paul R. "National Power and Local Politics in India: A Twenty-year Perspective." Modern Asian Studies, vol. 18 (February 1984). p. 89.

The author, an American well-respected for interpretations of political trends in India, has found two fundamentally new practices which Indira Gandhi uses to retain power. First, she depends on the politics of crisis, in which communal or regional groups of voters become alarmed--often unduly so--and the resulting fear is manipulated to mobilize the electorate. The second technique derives from patronage. Gandhi, particularly since her son Rajiv has become her key advisor, grooms politicians for national office based on their local status. However, inadequate communication from local sources means that many of these decisions are the result of transient or shallow notoriety rather than the longstanding ties which made Nehru's patronage selections so successful. Brass presents thought-provoking insights well-couched in historical and cultural perspectives.

Brodsky, C. W. S. "India and Pakistan." in Gabriel, Richard A., ed. Fighting Armies: Nonaligned, Third World, and Other Ground Armies: A Combat Assessment. Westport, CN: Greenwood. 1983, p.3.

"This book attempts to analyze the combat ability of 32 ground armies relative to the type of war--combat scenarios--each army is most likely to encounter." Brodsky, a Canadian with both command and teaching experience, attributes the subcontinent's two major armies' organizational similarities to their common institutional heritage under the British Empire. In examining equipment inventories, Brodsky evaluates their suitability to the terrain in which they are likely to be used, emphasizing that India faces a Chinese threat in the northeast. For Pakistan, he concludes that the Soviet presence in Afghanistan has meant an unannounced but well-understood finish to the dreams of retaking Kashmir. The article is a concise, handy review. However, it was written before US assistance to Islamabad could take effect, and does not calculate the impact of domestic unrest, which continues to trouble the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

Clausen, Peter A. "Nonproliferation Illusions: Tarapur in Retrospect." Orbis, vol. 27 (Fall 1983), p. 741.

The author, who was a nuclear nonproliferation specialist in the Department of Energy during the Carter administration, argues that what seemed to offer a prospect for Indo-United States nuclear collaboration was only "an island of cooperation divorced from the mainstream of India's program and affording little leverage over India's policy." In 1963, bilateral agreements regarding the Tarapur plant were reached, and hailed as the beginning of India's accession to international safeguards. The author mentions, but does not go into, the factors which probably produced India's subsequent inflexibility. He discusses the Carter administration's decision to supply additional fuel to the plant, pointing out that the commitment was virtually

mandated under the 1963 accord. However, Clausen feels the Americans could have refused to ship such fuel unconditionally, since India undoubtedly lacked an alternative supplier, and might have made concessions to enforce the earlier deal.

Dutt, Prabha. "The Duel Role." India Today, 15 February 1984, p. 133.

This article explores the office and duties of Indian governors (state-level representatives of the president) and spotlights several recent or current examples. Under Mrs. Gandhi, these sensitive positions have been assigned to career Congress-I politicians, with a consequent diminution of the neutrality of the office. Gandhi's penchant for frequently shifting loyal lieutenants from place to place around the country has prevented most governors from acquiring in-depth knowledge in order to give the prime minister the local advice that is their constitutional responsibility. Thus, President's Rule has become a tool of national politics rather than a method for meeting local needs. The author speculates on the possibilities for addressing constitutional ambiguities surrounding these positions.

Guidahubli, R. G. "Indo-Soviet Trade Protocol for 1984." Economic and Political Weekly, 14 January 1984, p. 61.

In 1983, the total volume of Indo-Soviet trade fell short of its target by 14 percent. Recent trends analyses show that the Indians now export more manufactured products to the Soviet Union than they buy in return. This has led the Soviets to seek more direct access to the Indian private sector, while New Delhi devises strategies to prevent a leveling-off in the Soviet import of finished Indian products. Although overall trade volume has tapered off, the USSR has placed undiminished emphasis on an unrestricted flow of consumer items and agricultural commodities from India. The article provides a useful reference work in an important aspect of the major bilateral trade relationship between New Delhi and Moscow.

Gupta, Shehkar. "The Sparring Sants." India Today, 15 February 1984, p. 18.

The chief demand of moderate Akali Dal leader Sant Harchand Singh Longowal is a constitutional amendment defining Sikhism as a separate religion. However, on the day he had designated as the beginning of his activist campaign to accomplish this end, his demand was rejected by his followers as being too mild. Their violent rampage that followed ended only at the request of extremist leader Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale. Throughout the Punjab, student groups are organizing in support of both leaders, and inside the Golden Temple, people are being murdered for various factional causes. Meanwhile, Congress-I leaders appear openly pleased at the public impatience with their potential electoral rivals, the moderates of the Akali Dal.

Gupta, Shehkar. "The Waiting Game." India Today, 31 January 1984, p. 50.

In Assam, the government has begun establishing tribunals for identifying foreigners who immigrated after 1971. However, many Indians want to deny citizenship to earlier immigrants as well. Politicians have recruited the foreigners into vote banks and are anxious to delay implementation of the judgments, since federal elections are due in 1984. The government in New Delhi has further compromised the whole project by staffing the tribunals

with justices retired from other states and then failing to deliver to them the money and perquisites that they were promised. One tribunal member has already quit, and more may follow if they are not soon enabled to bring their families to Assam. Not one immigration case has been heard yet. A sidebar follows the chief minister in travels through his troubled state.

Khasru, Amir. "India Reaches Out: From the Antarctic to the Outer Space." Bangladesh Today, 16 September 1983, p. 37.

India has sought strategic minerals through offshore exploration of the seabed, and has now launched the Sagarkanya, possibly the world's most advanced vessel for such oceanic exploration. India has also been active for several years in Antarctica, but resupply problems prevent a year-round operation; the purchase of US C-130s has been explained as a move to overcome this limitation. However, subsequent attempts to purchase armaments from the United States give the lie to this claim, and suggest that India is buying western military hardware to buttress its nonaligned image.

Mitra, Sumit with Chawla, Prabha and Sen, Sumanta. "Gearing for the Poll." India Today, 31 January 1984, p. 74.

Sometime during 1984, the Congress-I Party must face the nation's voters. This 10-page article describes the party's current condition, and singles out several individuals who have been elevated to government and party positions without ever having won an election. Heir-apparent Rajiv Gandhi has shown an unprecedented preference for nonentities during his term as party chairman. While Rajiv himself is tireless in speech-making and hand-shaking, a sidebar concludes that he lacks originality and spark. However, the voters have grown so accustomed to Mrs. Gandhi, and the opposition parties remain so divided, that the nation may yet call for "more of the same."

Ram, Mohan. "Harvesting Votes." Far Eastern Economic Review, 15 March 1984, p. 103.

The new federal budget contains adjustments which could presage policy changes under a reelected Congress-I. Tax levels have been held or lowered, possibly out of an overdue recognition that excessive rates beget fraud. Duties on several exportable consumer goods have been rolled back in hopes that increased demand will reduce prices paid by Indian shoppers. The plan features an attractive deposits scheme as well as the inevitable election-year development and infrastructure outlays. Defense spending is slated to rise by 16 percent. Ram sums up the year just ending, pointing out that agricultural bounty should relieve inflationary pressures. The article is a convenient, but not overdetailed, reference work.

Ranganathan, N. Nuclear Holocaust or World Peace? New Delhi: Sterling, 1984, 72 pp.

The author, who is identified as the Tamil Nadu General Secretary of the Moscow front group known as the All-India Peace and Solidarity Organization, poses a clear choice for the world in the title of the volume. Predictably, the jacket of the tract gives away the answer to the rhetorical question: "The large mass of facts marshalled prove that, while the Soviet Union

persisted with the peace overtures for the limitation of nuclear weapons, the United States steadily went ahead with the program of developing deadlier weapons." The author pleads for "world amity" by standing four-square behind the Soviet "peace" efforts. Clearly, the Soviet "peace offensive" is gearing up in India.

Rustomji, Nari. Imperilled Frontiers: India's North-eastern Borderlands. Delhi: Oxford University, 1983, 155 pp.

This book takes a nostalgic look at the formation of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Meghalaya, and Tripura. The author made many of the studies and decisions by which these tribal areas were brought into newly-independent India; he closes by recounting local expressions of betrayal when the nation proved unable to defend tribal areas from the invading Chinese in 1962. Although the book lacks immediacy, no chapter ever ends in South Asian history, and this work provides reflective, informed background about a contested border region. Of current interest is the author's elaboration of Assamese irredentism, which has complicated relations with Bangladesh, and which was the tribals' major worry as well. (photographs)

Singh, Gopal. "Socio-Economic Bases of the Punjab Crisis." Economic and Political Weekly, 7 January 1984, p. 42.

Singh dissects the Akali Dal to reveal a collection of factions which have less cohesion than is commonly believed; party policies therefore shift according to the fortunes of its members. The Sikhs of the Punjab now perceive a threat from their successful implementation of the Green Revolution, since higher wages attract numerous Hindus from neighboring Haryana. The prospect that Sikhs could become a minority in the Punjab, their last stronghold, adds impetus to communal strains. Within the Punjab itself, agricultural prosperity has enabled some largeholders to send sons to the Persian Gulf states, thereby increasing the family's ability to acquire property. Marginal farmers have simultaneously been forced to settle debts by selling what little land they have, often to the already affluent. Singh's depth and clarity contrast sharply with the headline journalism emanating from this troubled, critical state.

Thukral, Govind. "Chaos Continues." India Today, 31 January 1984, p. 30.

This article looks into Punjab arrest statistics for the last quarter of 1983 and concludes that crime remains rampant despite the arrest of many terrorists. Various political leaders speculate on this seeming stalemate and blame Mrs. Gandhi's refusal to attempt a settlement. Her latest explanation: the underlying problem has been solved and the only challenge now is from the individual terrorist. A sidebar by Senil Sethi describes the arrest of a terrorist in Delhi and the way the press sensationalized his revelations, even though they were not new to the government.

NEPAL

Bajracharya, Deepak. "Food, Fuel or Forest? Dilemmas in a Nepali Village." World Development, vol. 11 (December 1983), p. 1057.

While the need for firewood is an immediate cause of deforestation in the mountains of Nepal, its effect only becomes disastrous in conjunction with food shortages which necessitate slash-and-burn agriculture. Government registration of landholdings also causes this environmental damage, because people clear forest areas which have traditionally been accepted as family or village reserves, in order to forestall nationalization. Because of the recent attention to Nepal's ecological decline, and the almost complete emphasis on energy substitution as the solution, Bajracharya's article will interest anyone concerned with long range planning. Bajracharya underscores his belief that these findings apply outside the single district which he studied.

PAKISTAN

Brodsky, C. W. S. "India and Pakistan." in Gabriel, Richard A., ed. Fighting Armies: Nonaligned, Third World, and Other Ground Armies: A Combat Assessment. Westport, CN: Greenwood. 1983, p.3.

"This book attempts to analyze the combat ability of 32 ground armies relative to the type of war--combat scenarios--each army is most likely to encounter." Brodsky, a Canadian with both command and teaching experience, attributes the subcontinent's two major armies' organizational similarities to their common institutional heritage under the British Empire. In examining equipment inventories, Brodsky evaluates their suitability to the terrain in which they are likely to be used, emphasizing that India faces a Chinese threat in the northeast. For Pakistan, he concludes that the Soviet presence in Afghanistan has meant an unannounced but well-understood finish to the dreams of retaking Kashmir. The article is a concise, handy review. However, it was written before US assistance to Islamabad could take effect, and does not calculate the impact of domestic unrest, which continues to trouble the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

Chandran, Ramesh. "The Persecution Continues." India Today, 15 February 1984, p. 72.

Benazir Bhutto, in this interview, remembers her father's last days and explains her decision to leave Pakistan for medical treatment. She downplays splits in her Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) by saying she does not attach much credence to statements which are attributed to detained politicians. Of her terrorist brothers, she says only that she would like to talk with them about the best means of changing the government, and she would like to meet the children born to them during her detention. She makes frequent reference to consulting other politicians, and to her long isolation. She denies having written the book, Pakistan: The Gathering Storm, but has not explored legal avenues of recourse.

Edia, M. M. "Pakistan: The Military Takes on the Economy." Bangladesh Today, 1 September 1983, p. 18.

Pakistan's military has become a heavy presence in the economy of the country. Several foundations which were set up to benefit survivors of servicemen and retired personnel now control major enterprises from farms to sugar mills. A number of special operations also have been undertaken to respond to logistical challenges such as running the Karachi port. Moreover, military personnel are being seconded as directors and managers of industries and commercial enterprises. For the lower ranks there is a government order reserving large percentages of positions in the public and private sectors for ex-army personnel.

"The Growth of the Pakistan Ordnance Factories." Military Technology, November 1983, p. 82.

This article provides both an overview of Pakistan's ability to manufacture arms and ammunition, and an interview with the Chairman of the Pakistan Ordnance Factories (POF), Major General Talat Masood. Masood emphasizes that Pakistan is seeking to export its products on a no-strings basis which many nonaligned shoppers will find more attractive than offers from major powers which might introduce unwanted entanglements. His country, he stresses, develops products on its own schedule, rather than in competition with India. The interview includes non-specific discussions of technology transfer and upgrading of capability.

Hasan, S. G. "Pakistan: Crisis Continues." Bangladesh Today, 16 September 1983, p. 31.

This excellent analysis focuses on the momentum underlying the seemingly dormant opposition to the Martial Law Regime. Although the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) has died down, it has left pockets of activity, and has increased public receptivity to such parties as the Sind Awami Tehrik and Mazdoor Kissan Party, that both have separatist elements. One reason for MRD's failure to take root may be its identification with the unpopular Pakistan Peoples Party. However, the current lull cannot be mistaken for government popularity, since even the newspapers are calling for party-based elections. Hasan also reports that US officials are anxious to see the inevitable change of government take a form that minimizes radical success, since extremist policy-makers would constitute a real danger to America's foothold on the shores of the Indian Ocean.

Hasan, S. G., Khan, H. R., and Huq, Keya. "Pakistan: Is It Going to Hold?" Bangladesh Today, 16 August 1983, p. 15.

The authors report the surprise with which the MRD has burst on the scene, and posit some likely outcomes. Making no secret of their support for party-based elections, the writers recapitulate President Ziaul Haq's broken promises of freedom and elections, along with his increasing hold on government. He has also abolished--at least in the lawbooks--such potential opposition groups as political parties and labor unions. The authors point out the uneasiness with which London and Washington are following developments.

Hussain, Syed Shabbir and Qureshi, M. Tariq. History of the Pakistan Air Force 1947-1982. Karachi: Pakistan Air Force, 332 pp.

This work will serve as a useful reference tool for anyone seeking factual data about the Pakistan Air Force (PAF). This includes combat engagements in which the service has engaged, individual feats of heroism by Pakistan pilots, aircraft inventories and technical details about the aircraft themselves. There is detailed an account of the PAF's actions during the Kashmir wars, and a separate chapter describes air bases in Pakistan. Laudatory tone does not preclude reasoned inspection of the obstacles posed by geography, technology or strategy. The authors do not indulge in name-calling, although they manage to avoid any mention of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, whose term as Prime Minister included no wars. Air Force pioneers such as former PAF chief, (and currently detained politician) Asghar Ali Khan, received prominent praise for their part in forging an armed force that has played an important role in Pakistan's defense. (index, photographs, tables)

Khasru, Amir. "Islamabad: Exporting Security?" Bangladesh Today, 16 August 1983, p. 14.

Pakistan's recent membership in the Gulf Cooperation Council, along with its extensive ties to Saudi Arabia, raises speculation that the two might be working toward eventual establishment of US military bases in Southwest Asia. Khasru singles out for discussion the cooperation between these states in support of the Afghan mujahiddin, as well as the fact that Pakistan is upgrading the transportation network in strategic Baluchistan province. Expansion of facilities at Gwadar harbor, or any of the province's new airports, could be forerunners of an eventual US presence. The article fails to convince, because it neglects diplomatic consideration, but Khasru provides valuable documentation of a vital regional relationship.

Lifschultz, Lawrence. "Independent Baluchistan? Ataulah Mengal's Declaration of Independence." Economic and Political Weekly, May 1983, p. 735.

Baluchistan's former chief minister, Ataulah Mengal, has given up hope of Pakistan's becoming a federated democracy under which his people can realize their cultural aspirations and maintain their ethnic identity. From exile in London, he has called for a separate Baluch nation. Although Mengal suffered under various military regimes, he did not fare any better during the democratic interval under Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. Lifschultz's excellent article, which is accompanied by an interview with Mengal, describes Pakistan's foreign policy calculations, with particular attention to Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. The author also reports on the manner in which the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan has proved to be the lifeblood of the once-faltering Zia regime.

Pakistan, Islamic Republic of. Economic Survey 1982-83. Islamabad: Ministry of Finance, [1983], 217 pp.

This government publication will prove a useful reference tool for economic analysts, although there is no mention of defense matters, militarization of the economy, or human variables such as corruption and management strategies. Chapter titles highlight various topics, including islamization of the economy, trade and balance of payments, mining, energy,

manufacturing, and population and social welfare. Ministry officials take special hope from the improvement in Pakistan's trading profile which resulted when the rupee was delinked from the overstrong US dollar. The book is a useful summary of the last year of the Fifth Five Year Plan, and the Plan itself. (charts, graphs, index, tables)

Vertzberger, Yaacov. The Enduring Entente: Sino-Pakistani Relations 1960-1980. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1983. 93 pp.

Vertzberger, who prepared this book in association with the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University, gives both historical and analytic information about this model bilateral relationship. The two neighbors share more than antipathy toward India. In the 1960s China's need for Third World and Middle East contacts dovetailed neatly with Pakistan's search for nonaligned credibility; at that time China and the United States were firm enemies. Behind these affinities lies a common fear of Soviet encirclement, either directly or through proxies. The Chinese have unflinchingly given Pakistan military and economic assistance, the nature of which is deftly explained by the author. (notes, tables)

Ziring, Lawrence. "Afghanistan: The Contemporary Pivot of Great-Power Relations." in Thomas, Raju G. C., ed. The Great-Power Triangle and Asian Security. Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath, 1983. p. 21.

The author, a noted conservative analyst, predicts the Soviet Union will annex the northern part of today's Afghanistan as a new Soviet republic. What remains separate will be merged with provinces to be severed from Pakistan to carry on the name of Afghanistan. Ziring's precedents are varied: alterations in Poland's (and Germany's) borders after World War II, and less convincingly, the fact that "Pakistan. . . was dismembered in 1971 with the Soviet-encouraged Indian invasion of East Pakistan." Ziring expects that once the Soviets are satisfied with their foothold in the region, they will sow as much discord as they can in Iran and Iraq. Ironically, Ziring falls into the same trap of which he warns western policy-makers: he underestimates the fighting ability of the mujahiddin.

SOUTH ASIA

Vlahos, Michael. "The Indian Ocean and Western Security." Journal of Defense and Diplomacy, vol. 1 (April 1983), p. 23.

Vlahos, who is the director of the National Security Studies Program at the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, makes several fresh observations about American policy--or lack thereof--in the Indian Ocean region. He advocates a public statement that our purpose there is no longer primarily the protection of petroleum supplies, but instead is containment of the various forms of Soviet expansionism. However, he commends recent improvements in our regional defense planning capability which grew out of our need for oil. These new capabilities, which are immature as yet, include independent theater command and planning, sub-theater compartmentation by scenario, and improved response time. In the long run, Vlahos postulates that our main weakness may prove to be lack of cultural sensitivity to the people of the region.

SRI LANKA

Narayan, S. Venkat and De Silva, Mervyn. "Parleys of Peace." India Today, 15 February 1984, p. 108.

Sri Lanka's President Junius Jayewardene has concluded 2 weeks of "amity talks" with opposition political parties by establishing three committees to continue the discussions. One committee will look into community grievances, one into decentralization and one into the recent communal violence. Each party participating in the recent conference will have a nominee on all the succeeding committees. The conference also included representatives of several community groups. Both the ruling United National Party of the Sinhala community and the opposition Tamil United Liberation Front are optimistic that the talks will produce some good. The press has been muted, indicating that even rabble-rousers realize that extremism has gotten their country into its most dangerous quandary since independence.

Warnpala, W. A. Wisma, and Hewagama, L. Dias. Recent Politics in Sri Lanka: The Presidential Election and the Referendum of 1982. New Delhi: Navrang, 1983, 240 pp.

The authors mount a scathing attack on President Junius Jayewardene without noticing that their thorough and well-organized documentation does not support the wildest of the charges. Although the elections were a departure from the spirit of Sri Lanka's fairplay democracy, they appear to have been freely fought. In 1981, President Jayewardene announced a presidential election which favored his personal horoscope and allotted a scant 16 days for campaigning. After this combination of assets brought about his victory, he scheduled a referendum extending the life of parliament. The authors follow these polls, with chapters concentrating on the role of the media, voting mechanisms, key issues in both polls, and the factionalization of parties on the left. Despite its bias, the book is a treasure trove of statistics and other electoral information about Sri Lanka. The authors have also appended several drawings from their favorite political cartoonist. (appendix, index, notes, tables)